1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

KINSHIP AND SOCIOPOLITICAL ORGANIZATION

KNOWLEDGE of a people's kinship system is an absolute prerequisite for an understanding of their sociopolitical organization, but such information is not easy to obtain among the Araucanians because of the transitional state of their culture. As Father Cooper wrote recently on one aspect of the subject: "There has occurred considerable change of terminology since the first decade of the 17th century."[1] The same may be said of several other kinship usages. Some of the traditional practices still persist in their entirety, others are maintained only in part, a few forms are no longer carried on but are plainly recalled, and some have disappeared altogether. Any modern description of Araucanian kinship must, accordingly, reckon with chronology. It might be possible to disregard considerations of time by presenting an account that is correct for a given moment, but such a procedure would tend to convey a false impression of a static situation, whereas the one under consideration is truly dynamic. But to give due weight to chronology by presenting a whole series of successive pictures in separate compartments is utterly impractical. By way of compromise it has been decided to place the emphasis of this report on present usages but to include those customs of former times that are vividly remembered and a knowledge of which is necessary for purposes of analysis and interpretation.

Because of the complexities involved in the study of kinship, great care was exercised to obtain reliable data. At least a dozen informants, living in various places, were utilized. In most instances complete schedules of relationship terms were obtained, and in some cases these were supplemented by the gathering of genealogical tables, together with the appropriate kinship designations applied to each relative. When the data were compared and analyzed a reasonably consonant system emerged.

[1] Cooper, 1946, p. 724. Comparative lists of kinship terms are available in many works including Latcham, 1909, pp. 357–58, 1924, pp. 344–58; Guevara, 1929, I: 333–34; and Moesbach, 1930, pp. 194–206.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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PREFACE

The purpose of this study is to record the ethnography and, to a certain extent, the present-day ethnology of the Araucanians of Chile and Argentina, particularly their customs, beliefs, and traditions in relation to the development and training of the child. Information regarding the child's familial and communal environment is also included, for it seemed important not to ignore the milieu in which the child grew up. 121

No monograph of Araucanian child life is now available. The literature, according to the late Father John M. Cooper's word to the writer, contains little related to the child. This statement was corroborated by Carlos O. Henckel, of the Universidad de Concepción in Chile, who also knows the Araucanian literature. 114

Of published materials Tomas Guevara's work in seven volumes, entitled "Historia de la Civilización de Araucanía" (1898-1913), is the most complete study. Father Cooper's "The Araucanians" in the Handbook of South American Indians (1946, pp. 687-760) is a comprehensive summary, mostly of first-hand material, of all important sources from the sixteenth century to 1946. Mischa Titiev's recent study, "Araucanian Culture in Transition" (1951), is an excellent account of an area which shows the impact of Chilean culture. Studies in progress in 1952, dealing with the Argentine Araucanians, included one on medicinal plants by Nikolau Kolokolof, Ministeria de Agricultura, Buenos Aires; a dictionary by Félix San Martín, and one by Juan Benigar, both Argentines; a comparative study of Araucanian words by Horácio Molinari of Buenos Aires; a recording of music, songs, and conversation by Christian Leden of Norway; and a collection of folklore by Bertha Ilg-Koessler.

In this work, the psychoanalytical approach was not used as the study was an ethnographic one rather than a psychological one. However, certain psychological aspects that did emerge are recorded, and, since ethnography and psychology are interdependent, many more can undoubtedly be deduced by psychologists. 121

This study was made during the summer months in the Southern Hemisphere. When it is important, because of seasonal events, the date on which information was collected is recorded. 128

The method used was that generally employed in ethnographic studies, namely, observation and interviewing informants in their 124

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●124 own environment. (For details of the method see Hilger, 1954, pp. 25-42.) The same plan was followed in studying both the Argentine and Chilean Araucanians to facilitate a contemplated comparative study of the two groups.

Instances of incomplete data are due to the difficulty of getting the information. It took time and a cautious approach to establish rapport, especially in Chile, as the Araucanians are a proud, sensitive, and intelligent people. Questioning an informant after he had given an account was a reflection on his ability to give it accurately the first time; it irritated and annoyed. Also, I was warned by interpreters against interruptions during interviews, as these were clearly considered bad manners.

Checking, too, was difficult at times. "Do you not believe so-and-so? I have been told that he described that to you last week." Fortunately, interpreters (non-Araucanians) could often confirm information; they knew the Araucanians and their ways, having been closely associated with them for years—in Chile as herbalists, missionaries, or teachers, and in Argentina as benefactors and/or collectors of folklore. Information given by children was immediately and spontaneously checked by all other children present.

When a trait was not found in more than one area, the particular area in which it was found is recorded, in order to facilitate future checking. Variations within a trait are recorded as such.

The reader may find details too numerous or too minute, but they are intentionally so because there is a dearth of printed material dealing with the ethnography of the Araucanians, and also because the opportunity for collecting such details is rapidly coming to an end, especially in Argentina, at the present forced rate of acculturation.

With few exceptions informants are not identified with information recorded. To quote a Chilean informant, "The Mapuche (Araucanians) around here know that I am telling you our customs, and that is all right; but I do not want them to know what it is that I have told you. That is not important anyway. What is important is that it is the truth, and I am telling you the truth." A list of informants is given on pp. xix-xx.

The interpreters gave assistance in selecting informants, places, and occasions for observations, and in checking. It was upon their word and assurance that the Araucanians accepted me.

104 All Araucanian words were checked for spelling against the Diccionario of Félix José de Augusta (1916) if they could be found there. Should the reader wish to use the Diccionario, it is suggested that he first consult the "Phonetic Key to the Araucanian Language" (Ap-

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carried all remaining personal belongings of the deceased there to be burnt—something which was not done in Alepúe area. 766

To alleviate loneliness and sorrow, relatives often stay with a bereaved family during the night following burial. Persons who sorrowed over the loss of a loved one might be heard to give a moan or be seen to fill up with tears for some time after death, "so long as the loss is keenly felt. At the grave our women often weep bitterly." Informants were certain that never were there any demonstrations of mourning, such as scarification, cutting the hair, sacrificing the joint of a finger, changing clothing, or refraining from wearing silver jewelry. Not uncommonly a man or a woman marries within a month after the death of a partner, probably because of the levirate. "My sister married the brother of her deceased husband a month after her husband's death."

Not infrequently, at present, Chilean mourning customs are followed: marriage is delayed for a year, black is worn by the women, and a black band around one arm by the men. In Cofiaripe, a 26-year-old woman whose mother died in November 1946 expected to mourn for a year by not wearing her earrings or Araucanian silver ornaments, or ribbons in her hair. She was letting her hair hang down her back in two braids tied together. "But this is copied from the Chileans." 766 177

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT

POLITICAL UNIT AND THE CACIQUE

When questioned as to the type of early government, informants found it difficult to think the matter through; from information collected, the pattern cannot be reconstructed. 124

Cooper gives as major features of the former political system the following (1946, pp. 724-725): 880

> There was no peacetime over-all chief, no centralization of authority for all the Mapuche-Huilliche in any one individual or administrative body. Furthermore, such authority as was vested in kinship heads and local "chiefs" was very limited—exclusively or almost exclusively consultative and persuasive, with little or no coercive power. They had no recognized right to inflict punishment, to claim tribute or personal service, or to demand obedience from their kinsfolk or "subjects." The latter paid no attention to them and did as they pleased if the leaders showed themselves arrogant or domineering. Headmen or "chiefs" sent their messages through heralds (werken) chosen for dependability and for accuracy of memory (Guevara Silva, 1908, pp. 370-374).
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> Supreme military commanders in important campaigns or in general uprisings against the Spaniards were usually elected in open assembly by choice of the leaders, but kinship heads and other "chiefs" were as a general rule hereditary. On the death of such a kinship head or "chief," his eldest or most capable son

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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daughter is not a lineage member, but the kinship tie is considered too close for marriage to be proper. Furthermore, such a union would be inconsistent with the matrilateral "direction" marriage should take.

Actually, within a community, marriage could not take place between individuals in an incestuous category, so it is the *intention* to maintain sustained incestuous relationships which draws community censure. Therefore, incestuous relations which, because of their persistence, are brought to the attention of the community are considered serious enough to ban the individuals from that community. The partners of such alliances would be driven from the community if they did not desist; formerly they might have been killed at the discretion of the chief or lineage head. A clandestine affair brings strong censure if discovered, but not banishment or ostracism if it is terminated. Lineage elders do not precipitate social upheaval if they are able to restore the status quo.

The above information is generally freely offered by those informants who are most cooperative and who understand that the investigator is interested in obtaining the fullest possible answer to the question, "What is incest?" This seems a sufficient and general enough reply to most informants. It is only by continued questioning that some of the nuances of feeling are revealed and a fuller definition of incest attained.

There are father's brothers' wives and father's father's wives, mother's father's wives, mother's sisters, and mother's brothers' wives who are all considered too "close," ineligible for marriage. Also, a man does not marry his mother's sisters' daughters, his father's sisters' children's daughters, his father's brothers' children's daughters, or his mother's sisters' children's daughters. On the face of it, these data seem to isolate mother's brothers' daughters and mother's brothers' sons' daughters, which is expectable according to the preferred marriage rule stated in terms of marriage with mother's brother's daughter and/or wife's brother's daughter. A man does not contract patrilateral marriage; he either marries matrilaterally or entirely outside his cognatic group.

Certain paradoxes seem to be involved here. If the sororate and widow inheritance are combined with filial inheritance of wives, a man would fall heir to some "proscribed" women on the parental generation, for example mother's sister and father's brother's wife. The sororate and widow inheritance must have been more common

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582 lateral cross-cousin marriage" and, while using ego for specific genealogical reconstructions, employ the general term "matrilateral marriage." Even "matrilateral marriage" has its limitations, but it describes the ongoing system better than the other phrases. It is a more inclusive concept and does not have the misleading implications that "real" mother's brothers are primarily involved or that genealogical generation membership affects the structure of matrilateral marriage.

[124] I take my cue from the Mapuche themselves, who are often quite patient with regard to the anthropologist's painstaking efforts to collect kinship terminology for his ego chart, but often seem not to reason as ego should, and later contradict themselves concerning expectable correlations between kinship terminology and behavior. In

[601] their wide-range classificatory system, *ñuke* is a composite woman. *Ñuke* is all the females of a wife-giving group who are potentially available to a young man. This does not appear clearly in the ego chart, where ego calls his maternal grandmothers by other terms than *ñuke*.

Informants, thinking in concrete terms, give appropriate nomenclature for the very real actors appearing on the ego chart, who are actually married in the ways shown on the chart and stand to one another as husband and wife, grandfather and grandmother, children of so-and-so, and so forth. Should this sound implausible, let one ask himself, "What does ego's father call ego's maternal 'grandmothers'?" The answer is *ñuke*, if he has married matrilaterally. In short, all the men of ego's lineage call all the marriageable females of the lineage whence they take wives under the matrilateral system by the same term, *ñuke*. The ordinary kinship chart shows concrete relationships in a postmarriage framework for the most part, which do not reflect the group aspects involved in matrilateral marriage. The failure to recognize this results in interpretative difficulties.[7]

While tending to think in terms of past marriages and concrete relationships involved in and resulting from such unions, the Mapuche actually operate within a framework of group relationships

582 601 [7] Cf. Titiev, 1951:50, concerning terminological identification of women on one's own and parental generations. Also, Titiev mentions (1951:44) that "So ingrained is the notion that a *ñuke* is a potential spouse that the term may be used loosely [i.e. rather than just for actual mother's brother's daughter] for any one of a man's sweethearts or mistresses." I contend that this is appropriately rather than "loosely" used to denote marriageable females of wife-giving groups, once one perceives the system. The confusion comes from thinking in terms of actors on the kinship chart or, at most, individual family units already closely related through marriage.